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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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EUROPE, 1914



Block kindly lent by the "Daily Herald" in which this striking cartoon, by Will Dyson, appeared on July 31

THE REALITY OF WAR

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The events of the past week have filled us, and all men and women who love their fellow creatures, with profound and bitter grief. The peace, the order, the goodwill of the western world have given place to preparations for destruction, more vast and more bloody than ever before since human beings came into existence.

The Awful Future

Our eyes have seen, indeed, the beginning of this armageddon, but who is there that can foresee the end? Who can foresee what shall be suffered of agony by men on the field of battle, by women alone in the stricken home or helpless in the presence of a hostile soldiery, by children starving in their mothers' arms, by the brute creation driven forward under torture to fulfil the behests of men? To imagine an infinitesimal part of this misery is to imagine hell itself.

A Man-Ruled World

And this awful indescribable ruin is the supreme result of a human world ordered and managed and governed by men alone, a world in which women are only permitted to fill subordinate and unimportant positions. Well might women say to men, "Your failure is absolute and complete, stand aside that we may take your place in the governance of the world's affairs."

Women's Demand

But women have learnt by deep experience a wiser lesson. They know full well that it is because of the one-sidedness of a solely male Government that it has come to grief, and that a solely female Government would fall upon equal disaster. They demand, therefore, not domination, but equality; they seek to bring about a new order in which the two sexes shall play a complementary part in guiding the destinies of the nations.

Women's Work for Peace

During the past week, before the die was finally cast for war, the women of the Suffrage movement made a determined effort in favour of peace. The International Suffrage Alliance, representing twenty-six countries, drew up a weighty memorial addressed to the Governments of all the European powers urging upon them a friendly solution. This memorial, which we print in full on page 680 of this issue, was presented in person at our Foreign Office and at the Embassies of the other Powers. A special appeal was also made to the Queen of Holland to receive an international deputation of women. On Tuesday night the Alliance and other women's organisations convened a great women's meeting in the Kingsway Hall, and carried unanimously a resolution in favour of peace.

The Task Before Women

But all these pacific counsels have been swept aside, and Europe is one vast armed camp. Upon women will fall, in the absence of the men, the upkeep of the home and the preservation of the race. But this is not all; everywhere women will have to take the public places left vacant by the men. In Holland we learn that the suffragists are offering to provide women for many of the public services, and here and elsewhere necessity will compel men to

accept the offer. There will be work of all kinds that will want doing, and women will have to do it.

Women Must Never Return to Subordination

But while they give of themselves without sparing to the common weal, they must never forget the full dignity of their womanhood; there must be an absolute determination not to go back after the war is over to the old position of subordination. The new spirit of women inculcated during the last decade must shine through all their labours and illuminate all their actions.

The State's Duty To-day

Moreover, they must insist that even now the Government shall obey the behests of women in the interests of the country as a whole. If countless millions of pounds—whatever is held to be necessary—are to be spent in furthering the interests of the war, then whatever is required for alleviating the distress of those that stay at home must also be spent by the Government. If drastic administrative measures are taken to deal with that part of the crisis which is realised by financiers, then drastic steps must also be taken to protect the people's food and to prevent prices from rising. If it is necessary for the Government itself to become a dealer in food even this will have to be done. Women must also insist that rigid economy of housekeeping be practised by rich as well as poor throughout the land.

Another Prison Outrage

Our readers will be shocked at the awful story which we print on page 681 of another outrage committed in Perth Prison. The account given by Miss Arthur, who has been incarcerated there and was only recently released, is almost passing belief, yet unhappily, bearing in mind the admitted facts in the Gordon case, we see no reason to doubt her story. Such brutality as is being shown by the Perth Prison authorities must be brought to an end at once, and those who are responsible punished with due severity.

Mr. McKenna's Alternative

A powerful letter appeared in the *Nation* of July 25 from Mr. Nevinson, in which he deals with the whole question of forcible feeding, and concludes:—

Mr. McKenna, at whose door the outrage of forcible feeding now chiefly lies, has lately been asking the Bishop of London, the doctors, the Free Church ministers, and others who protested, what is the alternative. For Suffragists the only sure alternative is a Government measure to admit women to citizenship. But Mr. McKenna has himself discovered another way which would at least be better than the present intolerable abomination. Speaking in the House on June 11, he said: "Six or eight days of hunger-and-thirst strike are far more severe than two or three months' imprisonment under the ordinary conditions of prison-life." Let him act on his own statement. Let him take his minimum and consider one week's hunger-strike as equivalent to two months' imprisonment. A sentence of six months might then be wiped out by three hunger-strokes at due intervals, and the process which Members of Parliament have themselves described as "brutal," "cruel," and "disgusting" would cease to bring shame upon the country. That much might be accomplished, though I know very well that the present violent unrest and exasperation can never be allayed until a Liberal or Conservative Government has the wisdom to concede the justice of the women's claim.

An Amnesty for Political Prisoners

We make an earnest appeal to the Government in this solemn hour of national crisis, when diverse sections of the community are standing in together on behalf of the common interests of the nation, to stop at once the torture of women in prison, and to grant a full amnesty to all prisoners whose crime has a political origin. By this course, and by this course alone, is there any prospect of a truce in the internecine warfare in which some of the best women of the country have been engaged.

Infringement of Liberty

We reported last week that the great poster-advertising firms had refused to exhibit the poster of the International Suffrage Alliance relating to infant mortality. We reproduce the poster this week on page 686 of this issue. At a glance it will be seen that there could be no adequate ground for the refusal. Simultaneously, we have to protest against the unwarrantable action of the police authorities, taken, no doubt, at the instigation of the Government, in forbidding the omnibus companies to exhibit a perfectly normal advertisement of the National Union—the law-abiding suffragists. These intrusions upon the liberty of the subject constitute part of a new and formidable reactionary policy being carried out by the present Government, and we were glad to see a vigorous protest in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*, which we reproduce elsewhere (page 686).

British Nationality

Following upon the lines of the report which we were able to publish last week, Mr. Harcourt moved amendments to the Nationality Bill allowing widows

to resume British nationality, and the wives of British men to retain their neutrality, in the event of their husbands becoming naturalised subjects of a foreign power. Mr. Harcourt refused, as we anticipated, to alter the main anomaly of the Bill by which British women marrying aliens are transferred like property to the nationality of their husbands. We are glad to see that considerable protest was made against this provision in the House of Commons, but the Government carried the day by 108 to 59.

Items of Interest

A deputation of nurses waited upon Mr. McKenna last week to ask for the passage into law of the Nurses' Registration Bill. Mr. McKenna returned the usual negative reply.

The Transvaal Provincial Council carried a law to give women the right to sit on municipal councils in the Transvaal and the right to vote for schoolboards. This purely local law has been vetoed by the Union Government!

We call the special attention of our readers to an interesting article by Mr. Jendwine, on page 681, in which he shows that the hunger strike is in its origin and essence an attempt to avoid violence.

WAR AND WAR MAKERS*

Mr. Brailsford's book may almost be said to be written in a series of epigrams, so concentrated is his thought, so concise the expression of it. A book it is which all should read, or which, more truly at this crisis, all should have read; for it shows, not so much the horrors dealt out by the gods of war, as the wire-pullers and the wire-pulling by whom and by which these gods are loosed or bound. In the binding a love of peace plays no part. "It is not the will to keep the peace," Mr. Brailsford tells us, "which staves off war from crisis to crisis, but a sense of the overwhelming risks of battle." He agrees with Mr. Norman Angell that war is an anachronism, but points out that the fact, or even the recognition of the fact, is not sufficient to do away with warfare, so long as reason and the scientific handling of international questions are subordinate to more personal factors.

There can be no science of foreign politics so long as foreign affairs are in the hands of small cliques, among whom personal caprice is liable at any moment to upset calculations of national interest.

Let us admit at once that war is a folly from the standpoint of national self-interest; it may none the less be perfectly rational from the standpoint of a small but powerful governing class.

Mr. Brailsford carefully reviews the forces of Socialism from the point of view of the prevention of war. He recognises that they are considerable, but comes to the conclusion that:

No Socialist party is strong enough to make this dramatic gesture of disgust (with war) effectively without the aid from middle-class liberals, which as yet they hesitate to give.

This is surely to say that it is for the nation to assert the reasonableness and the wholesomeness of peace, and to refuse to suffer the pains and penalties, the horrors and the barbarisms of war, imposed upon it by the small governing class which everywhere promotes its own economic ends and imposes them on public opinion as national interests." This is surely to say that the will of the many should supersede the rivalries and ambitions of the few. And this surely is the chief message which Mr. Brailsford has to deliver.

A Literary Pamphlet

A pamphlet, of which the literary value is by no means inconsiderable, is that which has recently appeared by L. A. M. Priestley, author of "Love Stories of Eminent Women." It is called "First Causes" (reprinted from the *Irish Citizen*, Dublin, and issued at 1d.), and goes very deeply, but at the same time simply and clearly, into the root causes of women's demand for freedom. She discusses very ably and interestingly the legal, industrial, social, and legislative injustices which have driven women to rebel, and shows their connection with the national demand of women for the Parliamentary franchise. This is a pamphlet that may be given with equal advantage to the converted and the unconverted, for it interests as well as instructs.

From Euripides to Bernard Shaw

Those who are students of Euripides, or of Bernard Shaw, or of both, will probably derive much pleasure from the comparison drawn between them by Mr. Gilbert Norwood, M.A., in an address delivered by him two years ago and just re-issued in a pamphlet called "Euripides and Mr. Bernard Shaw" (The St. Catherine Press, Norfolk Street, W.C. Price 1s.). Suffragists will be most interested, perhaps, in what Mr. Norwood has to say of the way the two dramatists approach the subject of women; but we think he is rather more successful in drawing his comparison by showing the likeness between them, first in "the directness, wit, and athletic brilliance of their style," and secondly "in the treatment they have received from their contemporaries." Certainly, as he says in speaking of "Mrs. Warren's Profession," no comparison with the work of Euripides is here possible, "as the play is based on a conception of woman which was a sheer impossibility to any Greek of classical days."

* "The War of Steel and Gold." By H. N. Brailsford. (G. Bell and Sons. Price 5s.)

WOMEN IN WAR

By S. D. Shallard

Nothing has been so persistently ignored or misrepresented by opponents of women's advancement as the part played by women in relation to war.

There can be no doubt that there are few women who do not dislike the clamour, brutality and destructiveness of war, especially in view of the shameless or paltry motives which too often are its mainspring. Few women there are who would not rather engage their labour and talents in acts of peace and civilisation. They have paid the price to bring life into the world, and so value human life highly. They it is, virtually, who have made our civilisation, and so would cherish it. But wherever war is a necessary condition of existence, whether from racial situation or because of aggression or invasion, women have played their part with no less courage—and in some crises I shall refer to, with even greater courage—than men.

"We cannot doubt that it was the double motive of religion and honour which exalted their courage to such a height," writes Thomas, historian of the Wars of the Crusades, speaking of the part played by European women in the face of the Turks.

We know that the Celtic, Germanic, and British women sat in councils of war with the men, and that Caesar, Marius, and Valerius Maximus all praise their spirit and determination in the field, by which more than once the Teutonic forces were saved from defeat. It is hardly necessary to recall the fact that, after infamous treatment by Nero's procurator, Boadicea took the field against the Romans with a force which included five thousand women, nearly all of whom died fighting. Sexburgha of Wessex and Elfreda of Mercia were both successful in hard fighting against the Danes, and, having driven out the invaders, re-established the arts and pursuits of peace (as their historians say), and "reigned wisely and well."

The Arab women invariably took an active part in defence of their towns and villages, both against Mohammed and against the Greeks. Abu Sofian held out against Mohammed by the help of his wife and the other women, and through the women manning the walls the town was held for years. In other cases the women offered such a united and menacing aspect that the conquerors were glad to offer the best possible terms. At the siege of Damascus the Arab women sallied out at night, many of them only armed with tent-poles, and completely disorganised the enemy, after which they recalled and rallied their men, and led them to an early morning attack which resulted in a great Greek defeat.

Order of Knighthood for Women

The Spanish women again and again held the walls of besieged towns against the Moors. The women of Tortosa so distinguished themselves that a military order of knighthood was created and conferred on them. During the war of the Spanish succession, when Marshal Berwick besieged Barcelona in 1714, numbers of women not only served shot and shell and assisted in similar ways, but fought in the ranks. After every sortie many were found dead, and numbers of slain or wounded women were found in the streets when the city had been taken. There are numerous other instances throughout Spanish history of such conduct. In the wars of the fifteenth century there are cases, such as those at Toro, when Alfonso persuaded the Governor of the city to yield up the keys, but meanwhile the women had retreated to the fortress with the more determined of the men, and, under the commandment of a woman, the fortress conducted a resolute and successful defence.

During the Spanish-American expeditions of the sixteenth century, when the force of Cortes was surrounded by Mexicans, the women, who had been the mainstay of the little army by their unfailing cheerfulness through a time of war and famine, donned the armour of the slain and wounded, and led the troops into battle. Yet they had nearly been left behind,

had it not been for many protestations by the more influential ladies that Castilian women might die with their husbands, but would never abandon them. Cortes afterwards admitted that to the courage and fortitude of the women alone they owed their preservation.

Prescott, in his history of Philip II., tells how the Spanish and Italian women of Civitella, being then held against the French, "displayed intrepidity equal to that of the men." As one was shot down another stepped forward to take the place of the fallen comrade." De Thou records that in perpetual honour of these women it was decreed that whoever married a maiden of Civitella should enjoy full rights and immunities of citizenship.

Similar stories can be cited with regard to Scandinavian women, Dutch women, Flemish women. One will here suffice, taken from one of the world's greatest historians.

Motley in his "Rise of the Dutch Republic," in describing the siege of Haarlem, tells of the bands of women on skates and in sledges bringing food and ammunition into the city, whilst one of the most efficient fighting units was the corps of 300 matrons led by the widow Hasselaer, one of the most distinguished and respected ladies of Haarlem. They were armed with sword, musket, and dagger, and participated in many of the most fiercely contested actions. An army of women were meanwhile engaged in raising walls of masonry, making bags for sand, and bringing up the sand, stones, and earth to repair

every breach as it took place. Others, of course, were attending the sick and wounded.

Who has not read of the Swiss peasant girls of Unterwalden and Uri who died fighting in the ranks hand to hand with the French when their country was being invaded? Or the Polish women, who, when unable to go to the front, melted down every trinket, including their wedding rings, to provide the pay of the soldiers? Or those Moorish women who, when their town was under siege, cut off their hair to furnish new bow-strings that one more attempt at resistance might be made?

In the American War of Independence and in the Civil War, so near to our own times, we find just the same qualities displayed. The women all for peace until they see war to be inevitable. Then, playing their part decisively, training as doctors in order that the young medical men might go to the front, training as nurses to go to the front themselves, enlisting by thousands in the disguise of men, or acting as scouts, carriers, ammunition-servers.

Why, indeed, should anything else have been expected? For it is manifest that only in proportion as its women are loyal and courageous can any race bring loyal or courageous men into the world. We might, therefore, expect to find that however much they may dread and deplore the coming of war, women have ever been steady to accept and fulfil whatever duties a state of war may seem to impose upon them, whether these involve suffering in silence or dying in the field.

WHERE ARE WE GOING TO?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—

I do not know whether, by the time these lines are printed, the great cultured nations of our civilisation may not be plunged neck-deep into a riot of barbarity which would have shamed our most barbarous ancestors. Mr. Asquith says this, and the Press says that; but we have learnt to place not too much reliance upon what Mr. Asquith says and what the Press says. One thing, however, emerges—clear and certain from a chaotic welter of contradiction; our lords and masters, seeking (as usual) their own personal aggrandisement and profit, have contrived to place their country in one of the most appalling positions it has ever been her unhappy lot to occupy; and if we contrive to muddle through one can only say it is a good deal more than we deserve. This is no time for fulminations against one particular party; it was the Tory Party who gave us the Boer War, about which the least said the better; and the party governments of France, Germany, Russia, and Austria appear displaying at least an equal degree of ineptitude. We, and our sister women in these other countries, have been invited, entreated, commanded, to "show our confidence" in the superior intelligence of the male over all far-reaching affairs of international policy; and—here we are; and where we shall be to-morrow nobody knows; possibly fighting we don't know who, we don't know why, we don't know where, about we don't know what; whilst the rest of the world's business drifts carelessly to destruction. And what is at the back of all this panic, if you please? What is the first root cause of difference which may soon be driving thousands of good men to their death like so many sheep, and the mere whisper of which has already caused widespread misery and ruin? Nothing but tyrannical folly and stupidity and pig-headedness, reflecting on a larger scale certain recent events much nearer home. Austria, that most essentially masculine of nations, has been struggling to impose an unwelcome rule upon a vigorous minority of protesting subjects; and she is paying for her bullying coercive tactics in the present crisis, and as the whole British nation is suffering more or less directly from the obstinate stupid policy adopted in high places towards the Woman's Movement, so all Europe is likely to suffer now. "We learn from history that men never learn anything from history." If they did they would have learnt by now that to attempt to force obedience and loyalty upon a recalcitrant people smarting under the memory of repeated insults and abuse, can

only end in one way. It is no idle platitude at all but a living fact, that government rests upon the consent of the governed; withdraw this consent, and there is immediate collapse, the ultimate consequences of which no man can foresee.

Our only hope now is that masculine greed and cupidity may prove stronger than masculine aggressiveness. We may still have peace with honour; honour amongst thieves and the Peace of Dives:—

"For with gold and fear and hate,

I have harnessed state to state,
And with hate and fear and gold their hates are tied!"

Let us look on and admire, O my sisters!

T. O'Meara.

August 1, 1914.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

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PROTEST AGAINST WAR

International Meeting of Women at the Kingsway Hall—Resolutions for Peace and for Succouring the Sufferers Carried with Enthusiasm—Women's Memorial to the Powers

The great women's demonstration against war, in Kingsway Hall on Tuesday evening, had been called at a moment when peace seemed possible, but it was held in the very darkest hour that the world had ever known. And yet to many of those present the gathering was even more wonderful than the occasion that had called it forth; much more significant. They trusted that the war was the last great violent outburst of evil passions of greed and lust and hate which had shadowed the world since history began; they believed that the gathering was the earnest of the new splendid spirit that should brood over the face of the quietened waters and the devastated but expectant world; the spirit of woman's love and loyalty and sympathy for woman, and through her for humanity. Never before had such disaster threatened the world; never before had the conscious, organised, articulate women of all classes and parties and of several nations met to make, on behalf of womanhood and childhood and the home, a protest against the time-honoured methods of brutal force by which men—regardless of half the race—have seen fit to settle their national disputes. It was a protest, passionate, sane, and practical, of the civilised against the barbaric; of the spiritual against the material, and of the mother who takes thought for the future happiness of her children against the destructiveness of a brief, inseniate rage.

Olive Schreiner was on the platform, better informed than any others as to the horrors of war, and hating it the more; Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. George Cadbury, Madame Malmburg, the Finnish patriot, Madame Schwimmer, Hungarian representative on the International Suffrage Alliance, and many others.

It was particularly interesting to hear the foreign speakers. Madame Gellrich, of Germany, the first of these, received a great welcome from that crowded audience. She had come to England to see our beautiful cities, she said. She had admired our industries, she had been delighted by the development of the woman's movement; she had looked forward to Englishwomen becoming enfranchised very soon, and German women quickly following suit, and then the two great nations standing side by side to teach the world the beauty of peace. And now there came this fatal war. The idea of war was in the air. Men—always so easily influenced—said "There must be war." Let women tell them there must be no war. She appealed for peace.

Mme. Schwimmer's Passionate Appeal

Mme. Schwimmer said without all speaking the same language they could understand each other's hearts. There was the same great passion in each, a prayer for peace. She envied those countries which could yet speak of peace as possible. Her own country was already at war, and she knew what war might bring the women of a country. She had heard a week before from her own people a terrible story of industries that had ceased because the workers were called to the war, and no man between the ages of eighteen and fifty left at his usual occupation; the country ruined, the men fighting desperately, the women with the horror of dishonour in their minds.

"The old civilisation will be destroyed," said Mme. Malmburg. "It is for us women and workers to see to it that we build a cleaner world in its place."

It was a shrewd and essentially feminine remark of Mme. Thernarau, the Swiss speaker, "Everyone speaks of war as if it were a dispensation from the Almighty; something like measles, that we cannot avoid, and so must accept with patience." She went on to urge that, like the Sabine women, the women of modern Europe should exhaust every effort in an attempt to save their men-folk from the horrors of war, and if everything else failed, themselves to go on strike for peace.

No speech was finer than that of Mrs. Barton, President of the Women's Co-operative Guild, who spoke for 32,000 working women when she protested that

if the people of the country had been consulted, war would not have been declared.

THE SPEECHES

Mrs. Henry Fawcett, who presided, as vice-president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, referred to the unparalleled suffering to thousands which would be caused by this terrible war. Voteless women were not responsible for the complicated series of political events which had led up to the war. (Applause.) They could not prevent war or permit it, but as citizens they had their duty to perform. The highest and most precious of national and international aspirations and hopes would have to be set aside. The greatest comfort was that where tens and twenties of people had been concerned to stop "this insensate devilry" in days gone by, millions were so concerned now. (Applause.)

"Let us call upon the women of all nations," said Mrs. Creighton, "to work together with us towards producing an atmosphere of peace." At the great International Council of Women in Rome only a few short weeks ago, when there were delegates present from all the nations of Europe, those present had felt that the interests, hopes and aspirations of all women were the same. This war would be a purging of the nations. Something that women could do was to keep down to a certain extent the panic and the war fever in this country, and advance on every possible occasion the cause of friendship with women of other nations.

Nowhere were there more anxious hearts and minds, said Mrs. Barton, of

the Women's Co-operative Guild, than in the homes of the working-class women of our country. Everywhere women were against the war, especially working women, who know what it means not only to have those they love taken from them, but to see their children in need of food. Women were heart-broken at the thought of this terrible calamity. It had been said that there was a great feeling between the nations; but she denied that there was any feeling of hostility whatever between the peoples of the countries. Women had got to make their voices heard, and in a country like ours the people should have real representation, because it was the people who would have to pay the price. Women must have political power.

"It Is Not My Fault"

She told how, coming up from Sheffield, an old sailor, fifty years of age, was put into the carriage by his friends, and afterwards two young Germans got in. On the platform was the eldest son of the old sailor in such a terrible state of grief that he had to be supported, as he came to see his old father off to the war. Strong men and women wept together. As the train passed out of the station one of the Germans, a young married man, stood up and put out his hand to the old man, and said, "By God, we are enemies; give me your hand, it is not my fault." They shook hands, and the old sailor replied, "It is hell, my lad. Why could not it have been settled by arbitration? I have travelled all over the world, have given thirty years' service to the navy in China and Japan, and have never made an enemy of a foreigner, but plenty of friends."

Mrs. Swanwick, who spoke on behalf of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, said that the way women acted in this crisis would be an argument for or

against their enfranchisement. All organised women were against the war. Women were the guardians of the race; when men took to killing each other, women had to take up the work of men. When men went to war women had to replenish the earth when men had devastated it. It was upon that that women based their right to be heard in a crisis of war. Women were organised in Great Britain as never before, and they could be patriotic without causing one other woman to weep. They could do the best service without injuring any other country.

Mrs. St. Clair Stobart said that the crisis had brought home to her very forcibly the necessity for inclusion of women in the councils of the nations. A double standard of morality prevailed in the world. There was one standard of morality for women and another for men, one standard for individuals and another for nations, and it was indisputable that until women were included in councils which concerned the morality of nations this standard would be maintained, which condemns the murder of an individual, but even extols murder when it is wholesale. If it were wrong to take one human life it was equally wrong to take thousands. Women were the custodians of human life, which had been given into their charge. Men respected their treasures, and if the slightest injury was done by a penknife across a piece of canvas the perpetrator was severely punished. Women were not allowed to fight in defence of their treasures, of their life's work, which was human happiness.

Mme. Gellrich, of Germany, said that no declaration of war would make women of different countries hate each other. Women were not on the earth to hate but to love. The way to show our civilisation was not by killing each other, but by helping each other.

The terrible evils which English people were dreading, said Mme. Schwimmer, of Hungary, were already a reality in her country. Trade was stopped, and Parliament closed because the Speaker and most of the Members of Parliament had gone into the fighting line. (Applause from the audience, which evidently approved of that picture.) Mme. Schwimmer proceeded to narrate to the audience a story from her own knowledge illustrating with awful poignancy the unutterable horrors involved in a state of war. At home women's work was stopped, children were already starving. Men, she said, were already murderers, and like cattle were being killed. Women must use every effort in their power to stop this war. Every single moment with which they were able to hasten the end of what was going on meant saving thousands of lives of men, women and children. Women were looking forward to a human world instead of a man-made world, in which there would be no War Ministers but Peace Ministers. (Applause.)

Mme. Malmburg, of Finland, who pleaded for a "cleaner world," said the wholesale slaughter in time of war was not of the sons of kings and emperors, but the sons of working people. The Jingo Press, which was forcing war upon us, for honour's sake, was ashamed to mention Russia as Britain's friend and ally. England was really being asked to fight to keep the Czar upon his throne and enable him to beat down the free people of her native land.

The Sabine Women Recalled

Mme. Thoumaian, of Switzerland, reminded the audience how the Sabine women had thrown themselves between their husbands and their brothers and so stopped war. If women had not succeeded till now in restoring peace, they had not worked hard enough, they must strike against this war.

The National Federation of Women Workers was represented by Miss Macarthur, who said that the people had not been consulted at all in the crisis. It needed more courage to advocate peace than war, and women would not be found lacking. It was for the women and the men who were true to their manhood to stretch out their hands to those of other nations asking them to fight for peace. People were talking about England's honour, was it to the honour of England that millions of women should be toiling for starvation wages, and little children should be suffering. The war which women were engaged in was the war against poverty.

Mrs. George Cadbury and Dr. Marion Phillips also spoke.

Two resolutions were put to the meeting and carried with unanimity and enthusiasm. The first was in similar terms to the International Manifesto which is set out in full on this page. The second was to the effect that women's societies were urged to use their organisations to help the sufferers from the economic dislocation caused by the war.

INTERNATIONAL MANIFESTO OF WOMEN

Drawn up by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and delivered last week at the Foreign Office and Foreign Embassies in London.

We, the women of the world, view with apprehension and dismay the present situation in Europe, which threatens to involve one continent, if not the whole world, in the disasters and horrors of war. In this terrible hour, when the fate of Europe depends on decisions which women have no power to shape, we, realising our responsibilities as the mothers of the race, cannot stand passive by. Powerless though we are politically, we call upon the Governments and Powers of our several countries to avert the threatened unparalleled disaster. In none of the countries immediately concerned in the threatened outbreak have women any direct power to control the political destinies of their own countries. They find themselves on the brink of the almost unbearable position of seeing all that they most reverence and treasure, the home, the family, the race, subjected not merely to risks, but to certain and extensive damage which they are powerless either to avert or assuage. Whatever its result the conflict will leave mankind the poorer, will set back civilisation, and will be a powerful check to the gradual amelioration in the condition of the masses of the people, on which so much of the real welfare of nations depends.

We women of twenty-six countries, having banded ourselves together in the International Women's Suffrage Alliance with the object of obtaining our political means of sharing with men the power which shapes the fate of nations, appeal to you to leave untried no method of conciliation or arbitration for arranging international differences which may help to avert deluging half the civilised world in blood.

Signed on behalf of
the International
Woman Suffrage
Alliance

MILICENT GARRETT FAWCETT,
First Vice-President.
CHRYSSTAL MACMILLAN,
Recording Secretary.

ANOTHER PRISON INFAMY

Inhuman Treatment of an Unconvicted Prisoner in Perth—Rectum Feeding Again Employed

We have received for publication the following terrible statement, signed by Miss Arthur, recently released from Perth prison:

I was arrested on July 8 at Alloway, and appeared before the Sheriff in Ayr on the same day, and was committed to Ayr prison "pending enquiry."

On Thursday, 9th, Dr. Dunlop, medical adviser to the Prison Commissioners came from Edinburgh to see me. He asked me if I was going to take food, said it was a very serious charge, and that I should certainly be forcibly fed on conviction. Before his visit the wardresses and a warden had taken my fingerprints, but as Dr. Dunlop was not satisfied with the result, another attempt was made. I was taken from my cell to another room, and when they found they could not make me sit on a chair, he ordered that I should be flung to the ground. He himself held the arm and hand, forcing the fingers open for the printing, and severely bruising my arms. My back and sides were so sore and bruised after this that I could not lie still in bed during the rest of my imprisonment. With this exception I was treated in Ayr prison according to the rules for unconvicted prisoners.

On Sunday, 12th, being weak and ill with the hunger and thirst strike, the doctor was about to release me when I discovered that I was to be taken to a nursing home chosen by the Prison Commissioners instead of the one chosen by my friends, and I refused to go.

Taken to Glasgow in Blankets

On Monday they came again to remove me, but would not tell me where I was going. It was the sixth day of the hunger and thirst strike, and I was unable to stand, but, weak as I was, I would not allow them to prepare me for the journey. I was then wrapped in blankets and laid in a taxi and taken to Glasgow, where I was handed over to the Perth assistant doctor.

On arrival at Perth prison (100 miles from Ayr), I was carried to bed. Dr.

Watson (the prison doctor) and his assistant examined me, and remarked on the bruised state of my body, the result of Dr. Dunlop's medical treatment, and later Dr. Watson told me one of my ribs was not exactly broken, but was bent. After this examination I was forcibly fed. Six wardresses held me down, and one of them reached forward and slapped my face, with, I suppose, the approval of the doctor, as he said nothing. The assistant doctor held my head in a most painful grip.

Steel Gag Used

Dr. Watson then tried to force my teeth open with the steel gag, and said that if he broke a tooth it would be my own fault. As he was unable to open my mouth he called for the nasal tube. He tried to force it up one side which is defective, but with all his strength could not force a passage. He succeeded in forcing it down the other nostril, and left it hanging there while he went out of the room. As it was extremely painful, I asked the assistant to remove it, but he only laughed.

Dr. Watson returned and fed me. The wardresses continued holding me down so that I couldn't move, and the assistant doctor continued to hold his hands over my mouth, and whenever the food came up tightened his grip to prevent me letting it out.

I was held down like this for an hour. At the end of that time I was allowed to have a pillow at my head, and a wardress took the place of the doctor and held my head. I was kept on my back, and prevented from moving for another hour. One or two wardresses were always in my cell, and watched me day and night.

On Tuesday morning I asked to see the Governor, and asked him for my privileges. He said I must tell him what it was I wanted. I asked him if he didn't know the rules for unconvicted prisoners; that I wanted newspapers, letters, visits. I said I wanted to see a lawyer and my own doctor. He said he would let me know in two or three days; but next day he came

and told me I could not have anything I wanted. The doctor also spoke on these points, and gave me to understand the power to grant those privileges lay with him. I then asked him if, when I was at the point of death, he would allow me to see a minister or a friend, and he said "No!"

That morning I heard an imploring voice followed by screams, which seemed to proceed from the cell above me.

I was forcibly fed three times that day. I think it was on that day the doctor told me I was seriously injuring my health, but he was not responsible, and that he had orders to let me die. The food was doing me no good; I was getting weaker and weaker. Once when I got out of bed I fainted on the floor. On Wednesday morning I was so weak that when my head was lifted for the mackintosh sheet to be put under it for the feeding, I had difficulty in getting my breath, and when the feeding was over I lost consciousness. When I came to I found I was alone with a wardress and the assistant doctor, who was watching me. I was not being held down as usual. After a little time I was sick twice.

Attempt at Rectum Feeding

I was not fed at midday, but three wardresses came in and made what I suppose was an attempt to feed me by the rectum. I objected and protested against this indignity and struggled as best I could. The manner in which it was done was so unnecessarily painful that I screamed with agony. Later three women tried to give me an enema. Because I would not submit passively to these indignities, after everything was over, one of the women lifted me by the hair and flung me into the far corner of the bed. Another knelt on my chest to prevent me from getting up. She got off again when the first sat down heavily on my knees and said she would not get up until I promised to behave!

Thursday morning, 16th, I was fed again and held down afterwards. I was not fed

at midday, but the three wardresses appeared again. One of them said that if I did not resist, she would send the others away and do what she had come to do as gently and decently as possible. I consented. This was another attempt to feed me by the rectum, and was done in a cruel way, causing me great pain.

She returned some time later and said she had "something else" to do. I took it to be another attempt to feed me in the same way, but it proved to be a grosser and more indecent outrage, which could have been done for no other purpose than to torture. It was followed by soreness, which lasted for several days.

I was released on that afternoon—my licence has no date—as I pointed out to the Governor when he read it over to me.

While lying in my cell I could not help wondering how the doctors and wardresses could have become so cruel. It suggests a long course of deliberate cruelty practised in convict prison life.

It proves the danger of giving a medical man, who is part of the prison system, full control over the bodies of prisoners. These or their friends should have power of appeal to a doctor who is really a doctor and not a prison official.

Refusal to take food, which is a protest against injustice, is made an excuse for forcible feeding, an operation without consent, and that this is punishment not medical treatment is shown by the fact that it is done with brutality and every indignity and continued when the stomach rejects everything. It has lately been followed by rectal feeding continued when the rectum rejects everything and even loses normal control and the patient is becoming weaker every day. The next step is deliberate injury to other parts of the body—as in the case of Miss Moorhead's ear, which made every succeeding feeding agonising and caused pain for months, leaving her deafier than before—and in my own case referred to above where medical treatment was out of the question.

JANET ARTHUR.

A PLEDGE TO FASTING

By J. W. Jendwine

The memory of political events is so very short, as a rule the events themselves so unreal, the Press has taken so much pains to obscure the Suffrage issue, that people, if they ever knew, are apt to forget the origin of the hunger strike which has called forth the wicked torture of forcible feeding. Yet the hunger strike was, and is, not only an indignant protest against a great wrong, but a use, perhaps instinctive, of the most ancient method known to history for obtaining redress of wrong used by those of courage who regard life as sacred and will not lightly take it. From two great ancient civilisations East and West, from the Hindoo of India and from the Irishman, we inherit the example of the hunger strike as an attempt to substitute by self-suffering a peaceful remedy for bloodshed. It is an appeal to all that is spiritual and humane in man.

An Alternative to Violence

The one remedy for all crime and wrong in ancient society was to seize the property of the wrongdoer, a proceeding which certainly ended in bloodshed and war. The first arbitrators who tried to supersede this appeal to force, which the anti-suffragist rightly says is the last resort of society, by something more humane regulated the seizure by technical rules of restraint; but in addition they encouraged, and in the ancient laws of Ireland ordered, as a preliminary to legal seizure, actions which in pagan days foreshadowed principles which we associate with Christianity, an appeal to man's better nature by the self-sacrifice hunger strike of the creditor. In India the creditor, after making his claim, sat down at his debtor's door and refused food until his claim was settled (an act called "sitting dharna"), or he sowed there a little patch of barley and sat by it, symbolising that he would eat nothing until the crop came to fruition. "Will you right me or will you see me starve?"

In Ireland a chief could not be distrained upon without first "fasting on him." To avoid this the chief was to give a pledge to go to arbitration over the cause of action. The procedure was always effective, for if the pledge to stop fasting were not given, the creditor, in addition to the hatred, contempt, and possible violence of the community against the debtor, obtained from the Breton double or more than double of his claim.

The world, least of all the political world, in which we may now include both magistrates and judges, finds it very difficult to believe that any

persons would put themselves to serious inconvenience for a principle, would suffer to obtain justice for others, would give their bodies to be "burned" for any other cause than to save their pockets. Yet so much was this the case in this movement that when the privileges of the first-class, falling far behind those granted to political prisoners, were given to the leaders, the Lawrences and Mrs. Pankhurst, they sacrificed them and went on hunger strike to obtain them for those who followed.

One so often hears and reads, "Why cannot these women take their food?" "Why do they try to avoid their punishment?" "Why don't they behave like men?" and so forth. The judge, summing up, contrary to all the best traditions of the English bar, which make him the advocate of the undefended prisoner, points out to the jury, to ensure a conviction, that the woman who will not eat has only herself to thank if she is tortured.

What was the claim of the women when first they adopted this mode of avoiding violence by insistence on the arbitration of the nation on their claims? It was a very simple and a very just one.

I believe I am within the mark when I say that before any stone had been thrown by a Suffragist some 200 women of the very best class had been imprisoned as the commonest of criminals for "obstruction" and "being disorderly"; in other words, for the benefit of those who do not understand political police ways, for going in orderly procession to Westminster, armed with petitions to the King, asking to see the Premier. When ordered to go away by the police they refused to do so—they insisted on waiting quietly to see him. For that offence they were sentenced by the magistrate, apparently under the orders of the House of Commons, to long imprisonment in the second and third divisions, with all the resulting ignominy and suffering to delicate and refined women.*

Claim for Political Treatment

They claimed, and they rightly claimed, that if they had technically offended against the law they should have the treatment always accorded to men political prisoners, such as Stead, Jameson, Larkin, and others, instead of being classed as common criminals. The concession of such treatment would at

once have put the Suffrage movement in the forefront as a great political issue which must be settled in Parliament; it would have been a pledge for arbitration; the Press would no longer have been able to smother and distort the facts; the Courts would have been compelled to treat the women with respect. This the politicians on both sides desired to avoid, and thinking then, apparently as they seem to think now, that by violence and trickery they can crush a great world movement, they have persistently refused it. Then some of the younger ones—the leaders held out in non-resistance to violence until the very last moment—"fasted on" the Ministers as a means of obtaining political treatment for their leaders. They refused to eat prison food, to wear prison clothes, or to obey any prison regulations. Civilised, honourable men, gentlemen or truthful men, men with any sense of proportion would, like the pagan Hindoo or Irish chief, have given the pledge asked for. But the reply of these men to the "sitting dharna" was, and is, the beastly infamy of forcible feeding—indecent, dangerous, useless, degrading to the law and to the whole nation, a practice in which only savages indulge.

The refusal of the pledge has forced the movement from one pitiful act of violence to another, each development resting on the same denial of political right, the Ministers and their satellites exhausting ingenuity to devise new means of repression and new incentives to further violence, and the women only avoiding bloodshed by their wonderful self-restraint and the courage with which they have endured the awful suffering inflicted on them. "He who does not give a pledge to fasting" is responsible for all that occurs as a result of his refusal; and Mr. McKenna and the Government which is behind him must therefore be held responsible for the trend toward open and active rebellion which the militant movement has taken.

"He who does not give a pledge to fasting," says the ancient Senchus Mor, "is an evader of all." And the Brehons and the Brahmins alike believed and preached that the divine vengeance would fall heavily on the man who defied and despised the self-sacrificing effort to avoid bloodshed. It rests with men and women who care for the honour of their country and the decency of public life to bring these men to the bar of justice and to deprive them of that power which they have so grossly abused.

* For particulars of such treatment in the early days I refer to Lady C. Lytton's book, "Prisons and Prisoners," p 44 et seq., and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's book, "The Suffragette," p 101 et seq. and 406.

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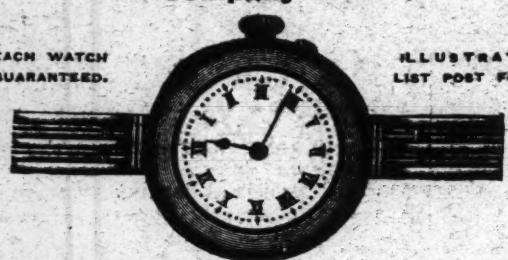
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THE FAILURE OF MALE STATECRAFT

Woman may well stand aghast at the ruin by which the civilisation of the white races in the Eastern Hemisphere is confronted. Mechanical destruction! Organised death! This, then, is the climax that the male system of diplomacy and government has reached.

For this cataclysm women bear no responsibility whatever. On the contrary, they have warned Governments again and again that the exaltation of material and financial interests above those of race welfare was working out to the destruction of human society. By their heroic struggle for the vote woman have sought to find entrance into the Councils of the Human Commonwealth, in order that they might there represent the supreme issue of race preservation and development. Their demand has been denied by male arrogance that has proved itself so tragically and fatefully inept in its self-assumed task.

Men have often passed sweeping depreciatory verdicts upon women as a sex. They have defended their monopoly of government by assertions that women have no knowledge of business, that they are lacking in practical efficiency, and that they are unable to think imperially. They have drawn absurd imaginary pictures of women in official positions, and have essayed to portray the muddle and confusion

that their entrance into the administrative life of the nation would portend. The Empire, they have said, would have "to shut up shop" once women were admitted across the threshold of politics.

To-day, it is for men to stand down, and for the women whom they have belittled to take the seat of judgment. No picture, however overdrawn of women's ignorance, error, or folly, could exceed in fantastic yet tragic horror the spectacle with which male governments are furnishing history to-day. The foundations of the structure of civilisation which they have erected in Europe have proved rotten. The edifice, seemingly so secure, has suddenly collapsed. The failure of male statecraft is complete.

Though this paralysing catastrophe which has already brought ruin into thousands of homes bears the appearance of inevitability, and seems at superficial sight to be outside the realm of human volition, it is not really so. It is the ultimate effect of a long series of causes. It is the outcome of a policy founded upon the negation of life. The desire of all the great nations of Europe has been concentrated upon financial exploitation, concessions and accumulations to the exclusion of other interests. Considerations regarding the health and life of the common people have been lost sight of, the progressive evolution of human communities has been forgotten.

An obsession of materialism has blinded Governments and made them the tools of those who prey upon humanity. Slowly but surely, the web of commercialism has been spun, and the nations of the world are bound up in its toils. The one influence that could have preserved the balance of interests has been shut out. Women, as the natural custodians of the human race, would, by their mere political existence, have reminded Governments that the life of a people is more than material accumulation, and that the human body and soul is more than a pawn in the game of aggrandisement. As mothers, they would have impressed upon the male mind the cost of human replenishment; as chancellors of the family exchequer, their influence would have been felt in forcing legislators to recognise the direct relation between the plenteousness of the food supply endangered and restricted by war, and the health and growth, of the rising generation. All these are practical matters which are within the immediate sphere of women's daily experience—an asset invaluable to statesmanship and diplomacy.

Governments, by deliberately bandaging and closing up one of the two human eyes given to Humanity for vision, have lost all perspective. By shutting out women from the Councils of the State they have lost the sense of the relative values of material aggrandisement and of human life. Men know nothing by actual experience of the cost in blood and agony of replenishing the race, they know little actually of the daily absorptions and sacrifice expended by millions of women in keeping the rising generations in a state of efficiency and health. Had the woman's point of view secured its due representation in the States that are so tragically involved in the present war, they would never have started upon a campaign that means race suicide.

A great appeal will be made to the women of all nations now that the breaking point of male statecraft has been reached. They will be called in as they have always been to pick up the pieces and put them together again. And they will respond. They will take the strain. In addition to the cost imposed, they will make great sacrifices for the common good. They will co-operate with men of humanity and good will in saving out of the ruin every shred of life and substance that can be used in building up once more the structure of society.

But let them never for one moment forget during the crisis of prolonged agony and concentrated effort that is before them the supreme issues of the Woman's Movement now more acutely realised than ever before. And let them be, above all, determined that when the work of reconstruction begins after the war is over, the balance of interests and of life, as well as of power, shall be established in every State by the representation of women as well as men in every department of government that affects the being of the body politic.

CHILD LIFE AND CHILD LABOUR IN THE DOMINION OF CANADA

By Margaret Hodge

"Immeasurable tracts of wealth go cheek by jowl with wastes of immeasurable poverty. We have playgrounds where there are no longer children, and children where there are no longer playgrounds," says Raymond Bray, writing of the regions of the old world, and startling as is this indictment, it is undoubtedly true. In the new countries, with their vast stretches of unpeopled and uncultivated land, we hope to find that the rising generation is more thought of, and that space and air are not such unobtainable luxuries for the poor, yet we actually see some of the worst evils of congestion of population reproduced in the cities of the Great Dominion.

It is only of comparatively recent date that the death rate of infants (i.e., children under twelve months) has attracted any attention at all. I have already spoken of the high rate of infant mortality in the towns of Toronto and Montreal. In the former town it is 175 in the 1,000, and in the latter it is 200; in the whole of the Dominion it averages 124 in the 1,000. The causes of the terrible toll of infant life are to be found in the underfeeding and the overworking of the potential and actual mothers, conditions that do not exist where woman can, to some extent, regulate her economic position, and in the insanitary surroundings of the child in the home. Of the ante-natal influences, I have spoken in a previous paper in connection with the wretched payment of female labour; but the post-natal influences often succeed in extinguishing the tiny flicker of life vouchsafed to the infant in the slums.

Overcrowded Towns

Unhygienic surroundings, particularly deficiency of light and air, as is inevitable in overcrowded districts, must act deleteriously upon infant life. The substitution of artificial feeding for breast feeding, a necessity, where the mother is employed for ten hours a day in the factory, or is insufficiently nourished herself, is too often disastrous in its effects, especially as little discrimination is exercised in the selection of the infant's foods—cheap and largely advertised, some of which may be actually harmful instead of being nutritious.

The difficulty of obtaining really pure milk for the babies of the poor, strange as it may appear in a land with vast areas of pasture land and magnificent dairy farms, is greater in Montreal than in London. Scrupulous cleanliness, an essential for health, is rendered difficult, if not impossible, in the overcrowded districts in some towns, where, it is stated, as many as eleven families are sometimes dependent upon one tap for their supply of water. The ignorance, as well as the poverty of mothers, imperils the lives of the little ones, and yet it is very difficult to arouse the authorities to the necessity for the training of the school girls in mothercraft, or for securing a fairer remuneration for women workers. With regard to a high rate of infant mortality, it has been well said: "The wastage of human life is a loss of the nation's best capital, and it must also be remembered that the conditions which make for the death of infants must also make for disease, and this renders unfit at the outset those who should become healthful members of the community. A high rate of infantile mortality necessarily denotes a prevalence of those causes, which, in the long run, determine the degeneracy of the race."

There is, in Canada, a high rate of mortality among children, especially in the Province of Quebec, where, among the French-Canadians, families of over twenty are not uncommon, and where only a comparatively small percentage of these survive childhood. In the months of July and August, the hot months of the year, the processions following little coffins up the hillside in Montreal to the cemetery are frequent and depressing signs of this high rate of mortality. The children who survive are too often poor and sickly looking. Again and again I have seen specimens of the rising generation, standing as culprits in the children's courts, so small and fragile that I could not believe them to be seven years of age, but they have declared themselves to be ten or eleven. I could not help connecting the condition of the children with the over-populated slums in which they have been reared, for Dr. Leslie Mackenzie,

in his striking statistics for Glasgow, plainly shows that arrested physical development is the definite result of overcrowding. He contrasts the average height and weight of boys and girls reared in one, two, three, and four-roomed tenements, and he shows how the deficient supply of light and air stunts growth and retards development. Some of these poor children from the Montreal and Toronto slums are pitifully undersized.

Canada and Australia Contrasted

There is legislation in all the States of the Dominion, except Quebec, to ensure compulsory attendance at school, but children between the ages of twelve and fourteen may be employed in shops during school hours if they obtain a licence from the inspector. If the parents choose to exploit their children in this way, and some are forced to do so, there is little to hinder them. The law allows a child of any age to be employed to gather fruit and vegetables if the employment be wholly out of doors. Little ones, scarcely out of babyhood, may be occupied under a hot sun in this purely mechanical and very monotonous work earning a nominal wage. It is unlawful for any child under fourteen to be employed in a factory; but this law is frequently evaded, and either from the necessity of parents or from greed for gain on the part of employers, a number of little ones, calling themselves fourteen, are set early in life to the process of making themselves into machines. In Australia, as the wages of young persons are carefully regulated, and as the care of the rising generation is of primary importance, the percentage of boys and girls between fourteen and sixteen engaged in factory work has steadily decreased during the last few years.

Ontario has its Children's Protection Act, which is excellent as legislation, but is not always as effective in practice as it would be if women had the power as well as the will to watch over and regulate its administration. One of the clauses of this Act runs as follows: "If a child in a foster home is defective mentally, the inspector may order such a child to be transferred to a suitable institution." Now there is no doubt that there must be many such children, as Galton estimated that one in every hundred of those in school attendance in every country of the world was far below the normal in intelligence, yet we have no institution suited for them in Canada, in spite of the persistent representations of social workers, women doctors, and officials. On one oc-

casion I witnessed a melancholy instance of the result of this neglect on the part of the authorities. In the court, a girl, obviously mentally defective, was condemned by the magistrate to nine months' imprisonment for indecent behaviour in a public place. Her partner in crime escaped without even a reprimand, yet he appeared to be quite normal when she was certainly an entirely irresponsible being. Had she been sent to a suitable institution when a child, she would never have had the opportunity of committing this offence. Some of the social workers present remarked to me: "Oh, she is quite hopeless; she has been in prison many times." Does not the latter statement fully account for the former?

Many of the best regulations under the Protection Act have saving clauses which render the laws practically inoperative; e.g., children are not allowed to play or perform for profit between 9 p.m. and 7 a.m. unless a licence be secured from the municipality.

Insufficient provision is made for playgrounds in all the large towns, and the exuberant animal spirits of the healthy children, unable to find an outlet in permitted sports, are continually leading them into mischief. Some of the cases brought before the children's courts were the direct result of the inadequate supply of orthodox playgrounds. The majority of offenders, however, in these juvenile courts are the miserably poor children, reduced to a neurotic condition by insufficient and unsuitable food, bad air, and overwork. "We are manufacturing criminals here," one earnest social worker said to me. Yet the one idea of those in authority seems to be to check offences by punishment rather than to strike at the root of the evil. The Dominion criminal code authorises any parent or schoolmaster to use force by way of correction toward any child, pupil, or apprentice, provided that such force is reasonable under the circumstances. Who is to decide this? Not the magistrate, surely. I saw a mother bring her little boy of about seven years old into court and display his badly bruised arm to the presiding magistrate. The teacher who had inflicted the punishment maintained that she had been asked to correct him, and he was incorrigible by any other means. The case was dismissed by the magistrate, and the teacher was exonerated from all blame. I have myself had a great deal of experience with so-called incorrigible little boys, and I have always found, in the words of kindly Roger Ascham: "Love is fitter than fear, and gentleness than beating."

Lady Constance Lytton has shown us the futility of punishment in our prisons. We know of its evil effects from our own experience, yet we still cling to convention and tradition, and ridicule the teaching of the greatest apostle of modern times who proclaimed again to the 19th century the Christlike doctrine of "Resist not evil."

AT THE ILFORD CARNIVAL



The Ilford Group of the "Votes for Women" Fellowship took part recently in the Ilford Carnival with a beautifully decorated car carrying a banner with the words "Motherhood" on one side and "Votes for Women" Fellowship on the other. The car was the subject of much favourable comment in its progress through the streets.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCE A Cowardly Assault

The *Sussex Daily News* (July 31) reports case of a man who, in what a witness described as a very cowardly assault, knocked another man unconscious. The man assaulted was so injured that he had to be taken to the hospital.

Sentence: Fined 5s.

THE PROTECTED WIFE

In reading reports of court cases, one is often impressed with the importance that is placed on the sinfulness of a breach of trust. The postman who tampers with letters, the solicitor who misuses trust funds is treated and sentenced with a severity which often seems out of all proportion to the gravity of the offence. In reading a list of cases which have been brought before our notice to-day, the impression is very different. When a woman marries and places herself absolutely in the power of a man who becomes by all the ideas of civilised society her main protector, she puts him in a position of trust to which there is no parallel. How does the English law regard any betrayal of this trust?

At the Birmingham Police Court, according to a report in the *Birmingham Post* of August 1, a man was sent to gaol for four months for what was described by the Stipendiary (Lord Ilkeston) as a brutal and unprovoked assault upon his wife, Elizabeth. On Saturday afternoon the prisoner kicked his wife and caused an injury from which she bled for nearly three hours, necessitating treatment at the General Hospital.

A Yorkshire husband was charged with persistent cruelty to his wife, who asked for an order of separation.

Counsel for the complainant, said the defendant had ill-used his wife during the last five years, and she had had to seek the protection of the police on several occasions. On Easter Monday he assaulted her when in the market-place, and on Monday night last he turned her out of the house. On Tuesday morning he again assaulted her, seized her by the hair of the head, and struck her, giving her black eyes. Since then he had been following his wife about making nasty allegations. She was willing even now, for the sake of the children, to live with him again if he would promise to treat her properly.

Counsel for the defence said there were faults on both sides. He was prepared to live with his wife again, but he thought she ought to agree, in writing, not to repeat certain conduct, which was the subject of complaint.

The Mayor advised the parties to live together again, and adjourned the case for one month.

The *Morning Advertiser* (July 21) reports the case of a painter who was charged with assaulting his wife. He had struck her in the face, kicked her in the leg, and poured water over her. The woman took salts of lemon, and when found by a constable said, "I want to die, let me alone. My husband has been kicking me on the floor. Let me die in peace." She was removed to a hospital.

The husband was sentenced to two months' hard labour.

The *Sussex Daily News* (July 24) tells of a man who was summoned for assaulting his wife on the 19th inst. He pleaded not guilty. Complainant said on Sunday evening they had a few words over tea, and defendant said, "I will stick you!" and thereupon he struck at her face with a knife. She put up her hand to defend her face, and sustained cuts to two of her fingers.

By defendant: She hit him the previous day with a piece of iron in self-defence. Defendant, on oath, said his wife picked up a knife to him, and he picked up a chair to defend himself.

He was bound over for six months.

A vicar was sentenced at Bicester for an aggravated assault on his wife. According to the *Times* of August 1, he had gone into his wife's room and struck her several times. He then knelt down, and lifting up his right hand, exclaimed, "So God help me, I will kill you, but not by striking you!" He returned to the bedroom with a revolver in his hand, and made his wife go down on her knees and ask his pardon. He then went to the church to take a service. He locked the door behind him, and as soon as she thought he had got into church she jumped out of the window. In

HEAVY SENTENCE A Puzzle Punished

The *Yorkshire Telegraph* (July 30) reports case of a man charged with wandering. The Chief Constable described him as "a human puzzle that had not been solved," and said it was the eighth time this year the man had been dealt with for sleeping out or wandering abroad.

Sentence: Twenty-eight days.

THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The following incidents have been attributed to Suffragettes in the Press during the week:—

Wednesday, July 29.—Grand stand at Newtownards racecourse, County Down, destroyed by fire, together with a refreshment marquee. Suffragist message found.

Saturday, August 1.—Explosion in the Cathedral at Lisburn, Ireland. Suffragist literature found.

IN THE COURTS

Saturday, August 1.—At Lisburn, charged in connection with the explosion in the Cathedral, Mrs. Metge, Miss Dorothy Evans, Miss Maud Wickham, and Miss Marson. Remanded on bail.

PROTESTS AT IRISH MEETING

When the big enthusiastic Home Rule meeting was held in the London Opera House on Wednesday, July 29, great precautions were taken by the police to prevent any disturbance, and outside the hall there was the usual display of mounted police, constables, and plain-clothes men. It is to be noted that the Suffrage paper-sellers were there in force, and that the crowd, keenly partisan as it was, showed no hostility to them. Great care had been exercised in apportioning the tickets, which had been distributed solely through party organisations, but it was soon evident that several Suffragists had secured admission, and were prepared to interrupt. The audience were extremely enthusiastic, but the interrupters were equally determined. The first interruption came when the Chairman, Sir Henry Dalziel, was saying complacently that the Government would see to the needs of the people. One man in the gallery got up at once and said, "Why do they not see to the needs of the women and give them justice? Why not give Votes to Women?" This upset the meeting dreadfully, and there was a perfect rising in all directions and men shouted with indignation. There was no time for the interrupter to appeal to the Chairman, he was carried through the shrieking audience and thrown out of the door.

When another speaker said heroically that the Irish people must be set free, a man in the gallery remarked wisely that women must also obtain their freedom. He also was thrown out. A remark from the fourth speaker that the Government used a great deal of force against Ulster on principle, led to the very natural remark from a gentleman in the stalls that women were also prepared to use force against the Government until justice was granted. The audience protested, but the interrupter

was not disturbed. The speaker went on to say that the Government would deplore the loss of human life, and was promptly asked why did the Government then torture, nay, foully murder, Mrs. Pankhurst? Again there was protest, but the speaker was still undisturbed, but when the speaker began to brag about the democratic principles of the Government, the interrupter got in a very pertinent question, "Then why do you exclude the majority of people, the women of the country, from its Government?" His face was slapped, and he was thrown out with great violence. Further interruptions occurred, and the same treatment was accorded to the men who dared to call attention to the position of women.

STOP TORTURING WOMEN

St. Paul's Cathedral was filled to the doors on Sunday morning when the feeling was intense that the nation had arrived at a crisis, and nearly everybody was filled with one thought, that the next few days would determine whether England herself would be at peace or war. In the circumstances, the service was unusually impressive, one felt that it would require a great deal of courage to make any protest that would clash with the spirit of the vast crowd, but there were at least eight women who were willing to raise their voices and remind the congregation that women were still suffering torture in the English prisons. The first interruption occurred just at the beginning of the sermon as the crowd was moving up nearly to the pulpit, and it created very little disturbance, but the woman was carried out, a man holding his hand over her mouth, and at intervals of a few minutes seven other women rose in different parts and protested, and were carried out through the side doors, many of them continuing their protest as long as they were in the building. This created probably less disturbance than would have happened on any other occasion because of the general strain. It was difficult to see exactly what happened. Several of the visitors present were heard, as they left the Cathedral, to say that while they had no sympathy with the Suffragette protest they were shocked with the violence that had been shown by those who removed them.

Similar protests were made in Westminster Abbey in the afternoon service, when the Archbishop of Canterbury was preaching. One was extremely sorry that in such a time of stress anything should jar on the feelings of these vast congregations, but at the same time one realised how necessary it was that the women sufferers in the prisons should have champions outside bold enough to insist that they must be set free.

WAR AND THE WOMAN WORKER

High Prices and Loss of Employment

(By Our Special Correspondent)

I have been trying all this day (August 4th) to get some forecast of the effect that war will have on women's work in the poorer parts of London, but everywhere I have found people absolutely unable to picture what war may mean, hoping, in a happy-go-lucky way, that all will be right in the end. The clearest statement I have heard was that of a woman, quoted by Mrs. Fawcett in her speech to-night, Mrs. Glover's: "We have eighteen thousand girls in our Federation of Girls' Clubs, and if war comes, half of those girls will be faced in a fortnight with utter destitution. Think what that means," Mrs. Fawcett added, "the frightful misery and danger those girls will have to face."

Various large employers of girl labour whom I have questioned have given me determinedly hopeful replies, but the hopefulness confessedly depended on the fairly good supply of raw material, and no one knows yet what their position really is, what proportion of the foodstuffs now on their way will reach England, or what further supplies may be looked for. One man told me gravely that if the sugar supply failed four hundred girls from his works would have to find work elsewhere, but no one else made such a drastic prophecy.

The First to Feel It

It is the small factories that will feel it first, and the women who work at home," said a Labour leader at Poplar. "Things are going to be so hard for the poor folk down here that they are not going to be affected by the question whether food is dear or cheap. They will have no work, and therefore no money to buy even cheap food." But even to-day, visiting the East End, one formed the impression that the people did not yet realise the trouble in store for them. Women with their children haunted liquor bars, helping their men-folk to squander the poor few pence they would lament so earnestly next day. They were incredulous when shopkeepers

told them prices had gone up to a point they had not dreamed of. It seemed to them like a story told to frighten children. They were not so foolish as to believe. "We are led like sheep to the slaughter," the Hungarian woman speaker said at the evening meeting. "Our industries are destroyed, our mills shut, our offices closed, and the people have had no voice." And in the East End one watched the people moving blindly towards starvation.

I visited some of the home workers in their homes, the little two or three-roomed homes where they had gathered painfully the treasures of a lifetime, of hard work and little simple joys. The furniture might be wretched, the walls dingy and torn, but all around were little cherished things that they thought beautiful, highly-coloured pictures, scraps of silk and tinsel, and always the family photographs that are the real icons of the poor, pictures to be shown with pride. "This, my son."

All Taken Away At Once

In one of the poorest homes two old dames had worked for more years than one cared to count, making baby shoes for a mere pittance. If she worked very hard, said one, she could make two dozen pairs of shoes in one long day. She would earn one-and-eightpence, and would spend in thread and wax threepence of that. What did such a woman know of war, or how far were her interests being considered by the nations?

Her work would surely fail, she would not know where to turn for food, and she was further commanded to pay the supreme price, her two sons had been called to serve. "Were they glad to go?" asked a visitor.

The old eyes gleamed. "Glad to go," said the mother. "They hated it. One of them has a young wife and four little children. He can't bear the thought of leaving them. The other, this one," and she put a photograph of a fine upstanding young man before us, "he had to go in such a hurry he couldn't say goodbye to the girl he's a-courtin'. One of the best girls I ever met she is, too. He just left her a letter. They took him on Sunday," she said, weeping. There was bitter horror in that phrase, "they took him." "They,"

the relentless powers that have no thought of tiny homes where voiceless, voteless women sit toiling always in a gloom.

Work Ceasing Already

It was in a shop near the centre of many industries that they told me one millinery business had closed its doors with a determination not to open them till things were more settled, and it was the head of a box-making factory who showed me the piles of cardboard waiting to be distributed to many out-workers, and said that there would be no more work when that was done, since practically all the cardboard that London box-makers used came from Germany or Holland. Those who know the East End will know how much suffering is involved in that one statement, how many homes where the mother's earnings at this ill-paid trade have just kept the little ones alive.

"I don't do so badly," said a tailor, the cheerful mother of five, in a big tenement dwelling. "The women about here this morning, they have been making such a to-do about the war, talking of how they'll starve. I don't believe in talk like that." And yet, as she told us of her earnings, the long hours she worked to make a weekly wage of ten shillings, and as she told us that her employer was engaged in the export trade, we knew that her weekly wage would probably cease and she would be dependent on the earnings of her children, two of whom—and this was the other side of war and industry—were helping to rush through a huge order for military caps. There are other little industries that will suffer soon still, the making of toys, of artificial flowers, and little trumpery fancies meant for a foolish day. "There are thousands of women in London who in days of peace have watched the wolf prowling near their door," said Miss Macarthur. "And now he comes with war to aid him."

Already one sees that woman's work for women must begin at once, the heart-breaking work of relieving the agony into which the diplomacy of men, trained for generations in the boasted art of government has plunged the womanhood and the childhood of the civilisations. And the women are making plans to organise relief.

Evelyn Litt

BRITISH NATIONALITY BILL

Defeat of Amendment to Allow Wives of Aliens to Remain British—Minor Concessions

The position of women under the British Nationality Bill was discussed in the House of Commons on Wednesday, July 29. Mr. Dickinson's amendment providing that a woman should have power to choose her own nationality and should not be bound by the nationality of her husband was lost by 108 votes to 59.

Mr. Booth commenced by a motion to re-commit the Bill on the ground that it had come back from Committee without the alteration of a single word. He had been told by members of the Committee that it had been hurried through without sufficient opportunity for discussion, and on that ground he moved its recommittal.

Mr. T. E. Harvey, seconding the motion, said the very fact that Mr. Harcourt was proposing a number of amendments showed that the Bill could not have been properly considered in Committee. The Bill was a matter of the very greatest importance to women subjects of the Crown, and had aroused a very great deal of feeling among them both here and in the Dominions. Surely every opportunity should be given them to express their opinion on the question of safeguarding their nationality. It was not just that a man-elected Parliament of men should settle once and for all the citizenship and civic rights of women and bar a number of their fellow subjects from their rights.

Two Minor Concessions

Mr. Harcourt said he had promised to consider very carefully the points raised, and discussion in Committee had been as full as Members wished. It was not thought possible to alter the law of naturalisation, which had been in force in England for over forty years. In the amendments he had tried to meet two points that had been raised. He referred to the hardship of the Englishwoman married to an alien who could only resume her nationality after his death by the lengthy process of naturalisation, proving her residence in the country for five years, and paying a fee of £3. He promised the Committee to provide a regulation whereby such a woman should be able to count in the necessary five years those that she had spent in the country before her marriage, and that the fee should be reduced to five shillings.

Another case of hardship was that of an Englishwoman marrying an Englishman who, subsequently to the marriage and it being no part of the contract, became the naturalised citizen of some foreign country. By the law of this and other countries the woman had always to follow the nationality of the husband. He had dealt with that in an amendment enabling the woman in such a case to make a declaration and retain her own nationality. These were two reasonable points, but they would be departing from the practice of the whole civilised world if they allowed a woman who deliberately married an alien to retain her own nationality. Grave questions arose as to domicile, taxation, and children, when there was a dual nationality of husband and wife, and he could not recommend the House to make so grave a change in the laws.

Mr. Dickinson's Strong Speech

Mr. Dickinson revealed the fact, which must strike the women concerned as very extraordinary, that the Committee, summoned for an unusual and inconvenient day, had given only three hours to the discussion of the whole Bill, including this matter, so extremely important and so far-reaching in its effects. He pointed out that no single representative body in the Empire had ever considered the principles on which the measure was based, and no public body had had an opportunity of deciding for or against the proposals until they were brought up in the various Parliaments. Canada had now dealt with it, but with a protest on this very point. The Australian women had protested very strongly. Until 1870, while women in other countries merged their individuality and their nationality in that of their husbands, England had resisted that, and if in 1870 a single opportunity had been given to women to consider the question it was very doubtful whether Parliament would have passed that Bill. A Commission had gone carefully at the time into the whole matter of nationality, but he could not find in its report that the position of married women had been considered in any way whatever. The point had been raised in debate, and the answer given was that it did not very much

matter. It did not materially affect propertied women. But the women who were concerned in this were poor women, and it was for them the change should now be made. He quoted cases showing how the law affected women who married aliens and went to live abroad, and how it bore still more severely on women who remained in their own country and lost certain civil rights. There was, for instance, the case of the woman who lost her right to the Old Age Pension, and the woman, become an alien, whose children, born in the country, were all British subjects possessing privileges from which she was barred. He was obliged to Mr. Harcourt for the two amendments introduced, but he wanted him to go further and make a good job of the whole. Almost every society in the country connected with women's work had carried resolutions praying for these alterations. It was the almost unanimous feeling of women that they should revert to the old common law of England.

The vote for the re-committal of the Bill was negatived, and the Bill then debated in detail.

The Position of Widows

Mr. Harcourt moved an amendment to enable widows and divorced women to recover their British nationality without having to wait for five years' subsequent residence. Mr. Dickinson moved to extend this to women separated from their husbands, but this was refused by Mr. Harcourt, and his own amendment carried.

Mr. Dickinson moved an amendment to the clause affecting married women, providing that the wife of a British subject or of an alien should become a British subject or an alien on making a declaration that she wished to affect the change.

Mr. Glyn-Jones said that in his constituency there were thousands of British born Jewesses married to Jews not yet naturalised, who had in consequence lost their nationality and were very seriously affected by that fact, especially as regarded insurance claims. If the House resisted the amendment, it was adding to the many grievances which women felt in this matter that they had no choice, no voice, and no claim on their nationality. There were Members in that House who said they were prepared to go to civil war because they said they were being forced out of the jurisdiction of this Parliament, and yet in the next breath they were perfectly willing to vote a woman out of her nationality against her will. It was no answer to a woman living in this country and compelled to lose what privileges there were of British nationality, to say that they did it in Germany and France, and that it would be a convenience to the Colonies.

The Bill at Stake

Mr. McKenna said that if the amendments were insisted on it would probably kill the Bill. The existing laws in regard to domicile were framed on the assumption that a woman did adopt her husband's nationality. Very serious questions of property and domicile would arise were the suggested change made. It was open to any member to introduce a Bill to amend British nationality, but this Bill was due to an arrangement with the Dominions.

Mr. Hills appealed to the Government to give Members a free vote with regard to this Amendment and not to put on the Government whips. Since the Act of 1870 great changes had taken place, and in none were they greater than in the views taken concerning women's rights.

Sir Alfred Mond also appealed to the Government for a free vote. Neither of the speeches from the front Bench struck him as convincing. The Home Secretary's argument that what was good enough for the House of Commons forty years ago was good enough for it now was a curious one to come from a Liberal Minister. The whole position of women was very different then from what it was to-day. It was clear that a grievous blunder had been made in 1870. There was no reason why it should not be remedied in 1914, and he did not think they should refuse to do this because of some idea that the Dominions would not agree. It was a curious suggestion that after passing a Bill to codify the law a private member should introduce a new Bill to create new differences.

Mr. Harcourt's Defence

Mr. Harcourt discussed the technical difficulties, laying great stress as always on the questions of property, inheritance, and taxation. He urged as a reason against the amendment that it would

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STATE AND TRAINED NURSES

We notice that the *British Journal of Nursing* is opening a list of fully-qualified nurses who are willing to serve anywhere where there may be a demand for their services, a list that will be especially valuable in the absence of any State register of nurses.

The Central Committee for the State Registration of Nurses is naturally much dissatisfied with the attitude taken by Mr. McKenna when representatives from thirteen distinct organisations waited on him to ask for facilities for the second reading in the House of Commons of a Bill for the State registration of trained nurses.

Dr. Chapple, M.P., introduced the deputation.

Dr. E. W. Goodall, representing the British Medical Association, said that Association had reaffirmed time after time the principle of State registration of nurses. There was no opposition to this proposal from any body that could speak on behalf of the whole medical profession. Certain consultants had opposed it, but that section of the medical profession had the pick of the nurses. He referred to the great need there was to-day for trained nurses, owing to the great changes which had taken place in recent years in medical treatment.

Mrs. Bedford Fenwick, president of the National Council of Trained Nurses, said that those nurses who had gone through training objected to being classed with the unqualified, and, worse still, women of disreputable character.

Lady Strachey, president of the Women's Local Government Society, also spoke.

Mr. McKenna, in his reply, said the opposition to the proposal was very serious, and they had to bear in mind that the opposition was powerful in the nursing world. The opposition had sent in quite recently the signatures of seventy-four matrons in London and 237 in the provinces. Included in the London list were all the best-known hospitals. He was sure of this that, with such opposition as they had in front of them, the trouble and time occupied in the House of Commons would be very great, and therefore a Bill of that kind would hardly ever be taken up by the Government. He must press upon them the duty, not merely of passing resolutions, backed up by even such important bodies as the British Medical Association, but also of getting into close argument with their opponents and bringing home to some of their minds that they appreciated the strength of their case.

We fancy we have heard this sort of thing before!

TWO BANNED POSTERS

We give below a reproduction of the remarkable and effective poster of the International Suffrage Alliance, which, as we announced last week, has been banned from the hoardings of London.

A further attempt to boycott the Suffrage movement has been put into operation by the Commissioner of Police at the instigation, no doubt, of the Government, and has found expression in the cancellation of the contract of the omnibus companies to exhibit a poster of the National Union.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE, JULY 30

Mr. Arthur Henderson: I beg to ask the Home Secretary a question, of which I have given him private notice, namely: Whether the fact that a contract entered into by the London General Omnibus Company to display a poster appealing to the public to support law-abiding suffragists by joining the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is not being executed is due to the intervention on the part of the authorities of Scotland Yard; and, if so, will he state the reasons for this intervention, and what authority they possess for taking such action.

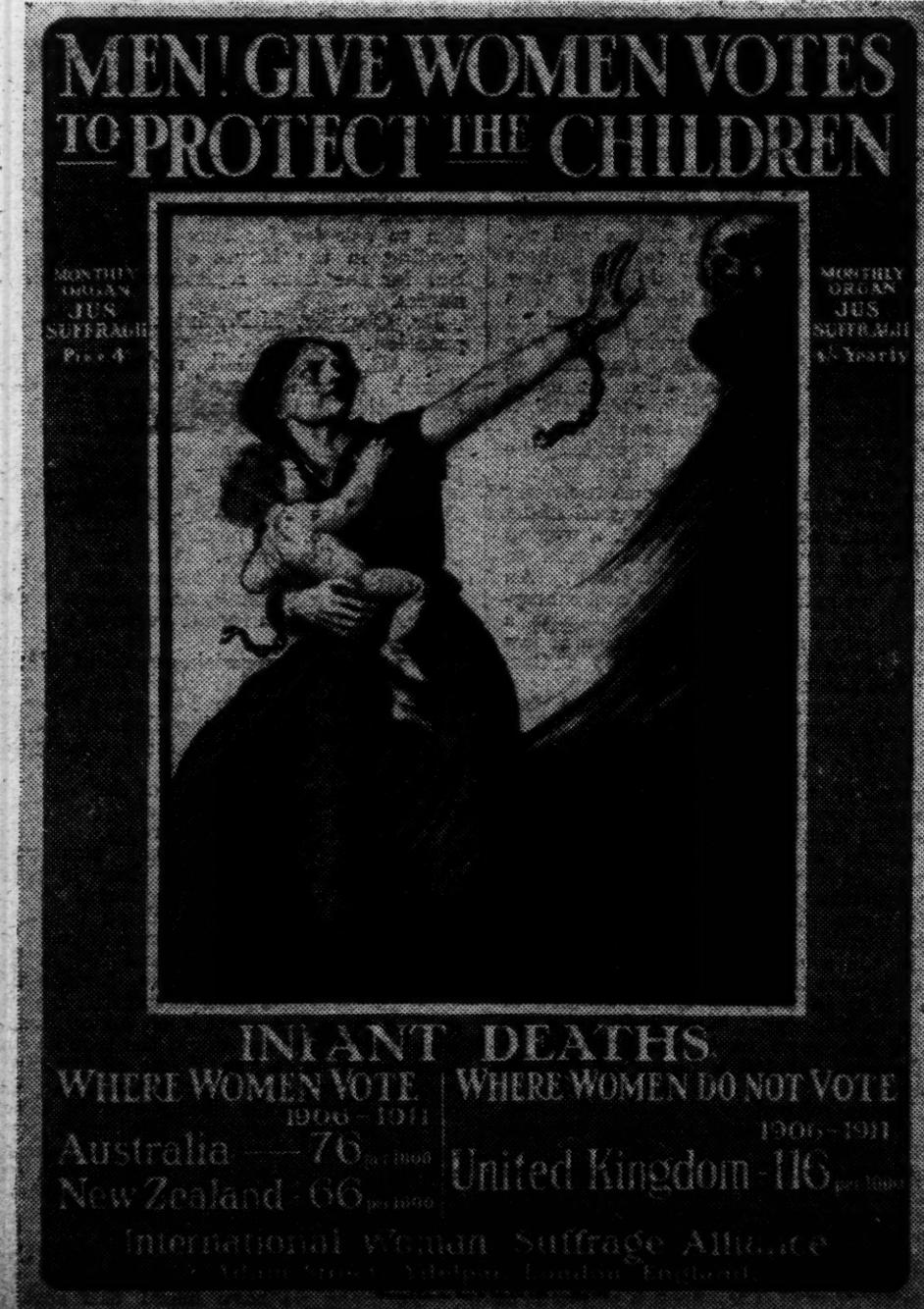
Mr. McKenna: By an Order made under the Metropolitan Carriage Act, 1869, the display of advertisements in public carriages is subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Police. It has long been the practice of the Commissioner to forbid for public reasons the display of advertisements of a political character, and as the advertisement proposed to be issued by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies came within this category, it did not receive the approval of the Commissioner. I may add that the Commissioner's notice has only recently been called to the fact that an advertisement issued by the Women's Social and Political Union is being displayed in omnibuses, and he is now taking action in the matter.

"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN'S" COMMENT

The very proper protest of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies against the police ban on their poster in London has brought one interesting

fact to light. In reply to a question in the House of Commons, Mr. McKenna explained yesterday that an Act of 1869 entrusted the Commissioner of Police for London with a censorship over all advertisements displayed in public carriages, and that it had "long been the practice of the Commissioner to forbid, for public reasons, the display of advertisements of a political character." It seems a pity that the scope and methods of this long-established censorship should not be more fully defined and made known. Mr. McKenna's definition of them leaves a good deal to the imagination. What, precisely, are the "public reasons" which make it undesirable that "political" advertisements should be exhibited in a London bus? Is it contended that a "political" advertisement might develop internecine strife among the occupants? More important still, what constitutes an advertisement of "a political character?" When an advertisement issued by the law-abiding suffragists (and this was distinctly stated on the banned poster), whose adherents are distributed among every party represented in the House of Commons, is considered offensively political, it will be seen the definition is pretty comprehensive. Judged by this standard, a manifesto from Sir Max Waechter's European Unity League might easily be suppressed—or even a poster of the Anti-Vivisection League, a body which is certainly to be reckoned with politically. The truth is, of course, these phrases mean very little; the censorship is administered at the sweet will of the Police Commissioner. We much doubt whether it is needed or could be of any use. The omnibus companies themselves are not likely to admit advertisements calculated to lead to riots in their vehicles. All censorships end by making themselves ridiculous; and this one, which prohibits the posters of the law-abiding suffragists because the "militants" have taken to burning down churches, is no exception. The Commissioner of Police seems to have just had his attention drawn to the fact that a "militant" poster is at present being displayed in the London buses, and he "is taking action in the matter." A censorship administered in this muddled fashion needs more than long-established practice to excuse it.

INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE POSTER



MAORI SUFFRAGETTES

How the Wahines* Selected a Candidate

Communicated by Miss Harriet C. Newcomb, Hon. Sec. British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union

Certain Government measures regulating the tenure and sale of land by the Maoris have been recently passed in New Zealand, though much opposition has been shown by many who consider that the welfare of this interesting race is seriously threatened thereby. Some of the Maori chiefs take a very dark view of the situation, and one, in characteristically picturesque language, summed up his complaint: "My people are distressed, and the old men and women spend their days in weeping."

In consequence of this trouble much greater interest than usual attaches to the coming election for the Maori constituencies. The approved candidate for the Northern Maori constituency, by name Hauraki Maning, son of the late "Pakeha (white man) Maori," Judge Maning and his wife, a Maori woman of high rank, has imperilled his chances of election by an ill-advised speech against one of the tribes. No fewer than eleven other candidates were immediately nominated. None of these could be induced to withdraw, and at a "hui" (council) held at Otiria, Bay of Islands, "two days were occupied with endless speeches extolling the merits of the various nominees."

The Komiti Wahine

On the afternoon of the second day, says the *New Zealand Herald*, from which this account is taken, a sudden and dramatic turn was given to proceedings by the women present taking a hand. The Women's Committee—Komiti Wahine—formed for the purpose of looking after matters which their lords and masters considered within their province, had been following the proceedings with deep interest and with obvious impatience to have the selection of a candidate made. When there was talk of an adjournment, their leader rose and claimed that the women should have a voice in the matter. The men were talking endlessly in a circle, and the women would go and select a candidate themselves once for all. Majestically she led the Komiti Wahine from the hall, before the gathering had time to adjust themselves to this new factor.

A Conservative Male

Returning after half an hour spent in deep consultation, the women's leader stepped forward to make their nomination. But one of the candidates, who had a shrewd suspicion that he was hardly likely to be the favoured nominee of the Komiti, rose to object. He stated the reasons against the women being allowed a voice at great length, and with much foreboding of what would happen if this innovation was allowed. A large part of the gathering was evidently with him, though the women murmured; but the chairman ruled that as the women were electors they had the right to nominate if they chose to exercise it.

The Women's Choice

From the corner in which they squatted the spokeswoman of the Komiti Wahine rose from the mat to speak. Throwing off her shoulder-wrap, she stepped into the open and faced the men with a gesture half pleading, half defiant. A woman of high rank among her people, and with a somewhat romantic career behind her, she still showed the traces of great beauty which the increasing flesh that had come with increasing years could not wholly obliterate. Her speech was easily the finest heard at the gathering, delivered with much dramatic gesture and the full use of a pair of singularly fine and expressive eyes. It contained those allusions to ancient Maori traditions and customs and scraps of ancient poetry beloved by Maori orators, rising now and then to lyrical outbursts, as when she called the men to cease idle talking on the banks, to launch the war canoe on the stream, and man it for the coming fray. Withal the orator's tongue had a keen feminine edge to it, and the Komiti Wahine rocked themselves in ecstasy when some of the candidates squirmed under sly little stabs, caustic phrases that lost nothing by being delivered slowly and smoothly and with a honeyed smile. The Komiti Wahine, she said, had considered them in their comings and goings, their down-sitting and uprising, and their choice had fallen on Tau Henare. He was a man of sense and ability, no vain talker, but one whose words were weighed with wisdom; no self-seeker, but one who had always put the public weal before his private advantage. Therefore would the women weave the parliamentary mat for Tau Henare, and the Ngapahi must send him to Poneke,

* Wahine is the Maori word for woman.

there to sit in the hall of council with the chosen of the people, and see that even-handed justice was meted to the Maori. And the speaker, somewhat flushed as to feature and scant as to breath, retired again to the mat and fanned herself vigorously.

Decision Left to Chance

Tau Henare's supporters applauded, the other candidates' followers looked glum, while the elders of the tribes wore a worried look. Ever since the vote had been given unasked to Maori women they had voted as their menfolk directed. Now—visions of an insurgent sex, imitators of the wild Pakeha women, of which Pakeha newspapers were full—as women were born to be the trouble of men. Debate died, and the hui broke up without any final decision as to candidates. But the popular belief is that the Komiti Wahine will send its candidate triumphantly to Wellington.

Much interest is taken by the white women of New Zealand in this incident, and an Auckland society telegraphed to the Maori woman-leader, "Kapai Komiti Wahine," signed "Pakeha Wahine, ake, ake." Translated: "Very good, the Maori women's committee; fight on for ever and ever.—White women."

A CHARWOMEN'S BALLOT

Recently the London County Council introduced a system of employing charwomen direct to clean the schools, and some 2,000 are in the service of the municipality. Previously they were employed by the schoolkeepers. They now work 32 hours a week, and are paid 14s. The question arose whether this new scheme pleased the charwomen, and the London County Council took the only effective measure of finding out—by the vote. The consequence is that 1,400 have voted for the continuation of the new scheme, whilst 600 have voted for fewer hours with proportionately lower wages. The *Manchester Guardian* points out that the charwomen seem to have found no difficulty in performing the desperate operation of recording a vote.

TAX RESISTANCE

After the sale at Whitedey's Auction Rooms on July 30 of a pearl necklace belonging to Dr. Alice Corthorn, of Kensington, and a silver salver which had been seized from Mrs. Dahl because of their refusal to pay Imperial taxes, a procession organised by the Women's Tax Resistance League marched down Queen's Road to Westbourne Grove, where a protest meeting was held opposite Arthur's Stores. Mrs. Louis Fagan took the chair, and the speakers were Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and Mr. Laurence Housman.

Mrs. Kington Parkes has returned this week from a very successful tour in Ireland, where she has been lecturing on tax resistance under the auspices of the Munster Women's Franchise League and the Irishwomen's Reform League.

A SUMMER SCHOOL

A Summer School is now being held at Thornbank, Collington Avenue, Bexhill-on-Sea. The speakers include Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins, Mrs. Bac, Mrs. Josephine Baker, Miss Mary Neal, Mrs. Hylton Dale, Dr. Harry Roberts, James H. Cousins, Arthur J. Penty, Reginald R. Buckley, R. Dimsdale Stocker, and others. The house is seven minutes from the sea, and there are tennis courts, &c., on the grounds. Further particulars are given on the back page of this issue.

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A fine meeting was held in Hyde Park on Sunday, when Mrs. Merivale Mayer addressed an enormous crowd. The speakers for next Sunday will be Mrs. Kington Parkes, Miss Joan Dugdale, and Miss Page; Miss Jane Steer in the chair.

The following members will take charge of the Stall at the White City during the week:—Miss Ihombino, Miss Nelly Howitt, Miss Mary Fox, Miss Murray Clark, Miss Jane Steer, and Miss Athene Seyler.

A delegate from the League attended the meeting held at the Kingsway Hall on Tuesday to declare that the women's voice will be always for the preservation, or failing that the restoration, of peace.

A really valuable work is being done at the White City, and any leaflets on simple propaganda will be most gratefully received. The Actresses' Franchise League are issuing a leaflet entitled "Why Actresses Want the Vote." This will be on sale at the office next week.

THE NEED FOR WOMEN POLICE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—The question of women police has been so much in evidence lately that it is both instructive and interesting to read in a contemporary the full report of a discussion (referred to in VOTES FOR WOMEN, July 24) of the Liverpool Select Vestry on the subject. One member protested that there was too much "molly-coddling" at present, and the motion which urged the necessity for the employment of women police was only carried by a slender majority of two.

One can only imagine from this incident that the facts which call for the employment of women police are not clearly put before the public. Otherwise we should hear no more of "molly-coddling" in connection with this question.

Within my own experience an incident has occurred during the last few days that can hardly fail to stir anyone who has the slightest feeling for children. In the country district where I live three little children were picking wild roses in a lane on their way home from school. A cyclist came up to them and asked them if they would like their photographs taken. The children said "Yes." The man then proceeded to behave in a grossly indecent manner to the eldest child—a girl of ten—and threatened to strangle the younger ones if they stirred.

Eventually he rode off, and the children rushed home in a frightful state of agitation. The mother of the eldest child—she is a charming little girl and belongs to most refined parents—lodged information with the police. The local constable came round, and in accordance with his duty questioned the child in detail as to what had occurred. The child was covered with confusion, and absolutely refused to describe what had happened. She said she would tell her mother—she had only given her some idea of her horrible experience—but her mother, on hearing the full story, also declared that she could not tell the constable. Eventually she told her husband, and he communicated the facts to the constable.

This incident speaks for itself. It is bad enough that a young child's mind should be upset by such a frightful occurrence, but it is almost as bad that she should be expected to describe it to a man. It is surely here that a tactful and sympathetic woman is needed to help preserve the bloom of innocence and modesty that has received so rude a shock.

I may add that the cyclist has not been identified yet. It would be a good idea if warning notices were posted in country districts urging mothers not to let their children wander in lonely places.

However, so long as such miscreants when caught receive practically nominal sentences of three or six months*, instead of six years and a flogging besides, these incidents will not diminish. The leniency exhibited to such criminals appears to err more on the side of "molly-coddling" than the provision of women police to deal with matters affecting the delicacy and honour of women and young girls and children.—Yours, &c.,

BELLA SIDNEY WOOLF
(Mrs. R. H. Lock).

Halcyon Club, 13, Cork Street, W. The terrible facts revealed in this letter show clearly how much women are needed both in making and administering the law, and we find ourselves in complete agreement with our correspondent, except that we adhere to our entire disbelief in the efficacy of flogging as a remedy.—ED., VOTES FOR WOMEN.

* See VOTES FOR WOMEN, July 24th, page 660.

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136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
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Men's Society for Women's Rights,
65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.
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83, Grand Parade, Cork.
National Industrial and Professional
Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
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Suffrage,
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
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11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
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Spiritual Militancy League,
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